



GEIGER

The Indians of Mission Santa Barbara

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The INDIANS of MISSION SANTA BARBARA

in

Paganism and Christianity

by MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., Ph. D.





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I went near these said islands by ship on three separate occasions and had the great pleasure of seeing a number of their inhabitants. They came out in their canoes to visit us . . . And, believe me, when I saw their general behavior, their pleasing ways and engaging manners, my heart was broken to think that they were still deprived of the light of the Holy Gospel.

Father Serra to Teodoro de Croix, Aug.
22, 1778, concerning the Channel Indians

PH

Cum Permissu Superiorum

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Santa Barbara, California



SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL INDIANS

in Paganism and Christianity

Young as America is, historically speaking, there is a widespread and enthusiastic interest in our historic past. Fortunately our vision of the future has not dimmed in us the glory of our past. The European pioneers of the United States whether English, French or Spaniard, have an honored niche in our hall of memory. It must not be forgotten, however, that the true and original pioneers of this land were the Indians from whatever regions they came. Their manner of life and their traditions were uprooted with the coming of the second wave of pioneers, the Europeans who absorbed, modified or destroyed the Indian culture depending on the geographical areas they entered or the political, social or religious ideas that influenced them in their conquests.

The missions of California today are the cynosure of all eyes. Millions of people from all over the world have visited them and continue to do so in ever increasing numbers. These missions hold the interest of tourists, writers, and scholars from varying viewpoints: religion, politics, sociology, ethnology, art, architecture, culture, civilization. Amidst all these interests, one central fact should be remembered: the missions were built for the Indians and to a great extent *by them*. The Indian, therefore, is the key to the understanding of what one reads or studies concerning the missions and the mission system.

Of all the Indians who came under Spanish rule between San Diego and San Francisco after 1769, those of the Santa Barbara Channel area, the Chumash or Canaliño, were the most numerous and most culturally advanced, and I might add, the best documented. They inhabited what is known today as the Tri-county area, the counties of Ventura, Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo. They inhabited the coastal plains from about Point Mugu to Morro Bay, the islands of the Channel, and the valleys and sierras north of Santa Barbara. In the course of time five missions were founded among them: San Luis Obispo (1772), San Buenaventura (1782),

Santa Barbara (1786), Purísima Concepción (1787) and Santa Inés (1804). These Indians had a common language with varying dialects. In this brochure we shall consider this tribe first in its broad aspects, then narrow down their story to the Channel, then consider them in relation to Mission Santa Barbara. We shall consider them both in their pagan and Christian states.

DISCOVERED BY CABRILLO IN 1542

The Chumash came under the scrutiny of European eyes as early as 1542, or within fifty years after the effective discovery of America, when Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed along the Channel with his ships, *San Salvador* and *Victoria*. Cabrillo took possession of California in the name of the king of Spain, made various landings along the coast and islands, and had frequent contact with the natives on shore as well as at sea where they plied their well-constructed canoes. These Indians were found to be numerous and friendly. A number of towns were large. Villages along the coastline numbered forty-one between the Ventura area and Point Concepción while fifteen more villages were accounted for on the islands. Individual names of these towns were recorded. The natives lived in a relatively lush land and if it failed to give them the full sustenance they needed, the sea was ever before them with its plenteous food.

Sebastián Vizcaíno sailed along the Channel in 1602 with his ships, *San Diego*, *Santo Tomás*, and *Tres Reyes* on a voyage of exploration. He gave the name, Santa Barbara, to the Channel which in time was extended to the entire area. Point Concepción was also named by him on this voyage. Further contact between Indian and Spaniard did not take place until the occupation of California in 1769.

THE FIRST OVERLAND EXPEDITION

The first overland expedition along the coast of California took place when Captain Gaspar de Portolá set out from San Diego in 1769 in search of the Bay of Monterey during which he discovered that of San Francisco. With him and his soldiers were the Franciscans, Fray Juan Crespí and Fray Francisco Gómez. They passed through Chumash territory, from Santa Paula to San Luis Obispo during the month of August. Between the site of Ventura and



Point Concepción, which the Spaniards described as the termini of the Channel towns, they found twenty-one populous and friendly rancherías, the name given to native villages.

Of this and a subsequent expedition in 1770, we have five diaries most valuable for a study of Indian life along the continental shore which also might be described as the first official census of the area. The recording Spaniards did not give the names of the native villages, however, but only the new names they imposed on them, the names of saints given by Crespí and the secular names bestowed by the military based on some interesting incident that occurred in the locale. These diaries were written by Portolá; Costansó, the engineer; Fages, second in command; and two of Crespí in 1769 and 1770. To these must be added the diaries of Anza and Font of 1774 and 1776 respectively. The Indian names of the villages are discovered later in the mission registers and in auxiliary documents.

VILLAGES OF THE SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL

These villages of the Santa Barbara Channel proper from Ventura to Point Concepción, most of which figured in the life of the later Santa Barbara Mission were: Asumpta (San Buenaventura or Ventura of today) with the Indian name of Lolop with from 300 to 400 inhabitants; Santa Cunegundis, a fishing village of only eight houses at Pitas Point; Santa Clara de Montefalco or El Bailarín (the present Rincón) with the Indian name Succu or Chuccu with about 300 inhabitants; Carpinteria or San Roque (present Carpinteria) whose Indian name was Michopsno with about 300 natives. The earliest explorers found another Indian village close by nearer to the mountains. No name was given or applied. The Spaniards encountered two more towns between Carpinteria and present Santa Barbara, which had been destroyed a short time before by *serranos* or mountain men. In mission times these two villages must have been restored for we find between Carpinteria and Santa Barbara, the town of Coloc or El Paredón or Paderón, as well as a second village in Montecito called by the natives Salaguas and by the Spaniards El Montecito. Then came Pueblo de la Laguna or Laguna de la Concepción, present Santa Barbara (at the juncture of the mesa and the sea), called by the natives Siujtu with a population of between 500 and 600 persons.



Courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum

Canaliño Indian Huts along the Santa Barbara Coast

Santa Margarita de Cortona, or the Mescaltitán of the soldiers (the present Goleta area) was a cluster of Indian villages four in number, built about the lagoon formerly called Goleta Slough on the campus of the present University of California. These villages counted from 1000 to 1500 souls. The Indian names of the villages were Saspili; Geló, Geliec and Alcajch. Goleta then in Indian times was the metropolitan area of the entire Channel. San Luis Obispo, later called San Pedro and San Pablo, but by the Indians Cuyamo and Miquigui, were twin towns on either side of Dos Pueblos Canyon, with a total population of 1000. Next came San Guido de Cortona at Quemada with its Indian name of Sisuchi with about 500 natives. San Luis Rey de Francia at Gaviota, Casil to the Indians, followed with about 300 natives. San Zeferino came next with about 200 natives. It was located near El Bullito and called by the natives Estait. Further on was Santa Ana with about 150 natives, then Santa Teresa (El Cojo) with about 200 inhabitants, the Chichilop of the natives, a few miles east of Point Concepción. Near the Point itself was the village of Purísima (Espada) with about 250 natives. This accounts for twenty villages.



THE SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL STRATEGIC

When the California conquest was initiated, Joseph de Gálvez, the king's representative, then in Mexico, stipulated that after the founding of San Diego and Monterey, a third mission was to be established along the Channel. The first two were founded respectively in 1769 and 1770 but the third was delayed until 1782. This, despite the reiterated fact that the stretch along the Channel, hemmed in by the mountains and the sea, was the "dangerous passage" because of its physical nature and the number and lively temperament of its natives. This situation constituted a constant threat to Spanish communications between the north and the south. At least on two occasions the Indians interfered with the passage of the Spaniards, at the Rincón in 1772 and at Dos Pueblos in 1775. The military authorities considered it dangerous to send the mail through the territory without an escort of three or four armed soldiers. Serra had a fear that if the Indians of this area ever banded together it would be disastrous for the Spaniards. For reasons of benefits to both Church and State, Serra clamored insistently and consistently for the establishment of the Channel missions between 1771 and 1782. The same reason for delay was always given, namely that an unusually large number of soldiers would be necessary to hold the Channel militarily and that the missions would have to wait until the required number of soldiers to garrison the presidio and to guard the missions, could be obtained. With about 5,500 Indians living on the coastline of the Channel and with others on the islands and in the sierra, all too lively in temperament for the Spaniards' comfort, it was deemed better to wait until the project could be undertaken under ideal conditions or not at all.

CANALIÑO CULTURAL PATTERNS

The Chumash or Canaliño Indians are classified among the lower nomads or marginal peoples, being pre-literate and pre-agricultural, who lived without a literature and who sustained themselves by hunting, fishing and seed-gathering. This is true despite the fact that they had made some material advances above their fellow beings to the north and south of them.

In appearance, the early explorers agreed that they were well-built, robust and tall, but not very corpulent. Padre Font declared

that the women were "fairly good-looking." With regard to their character, they showed good disposition, were affable and gentle, liberal and hospitable to strangers, agile and alert, lively, industrious, skillful and clever. On the other hand they were thievish and covetous and were unwilling to yield on the smallest item in the matter of possessions. Among themselves they were very warlike with village pitted against village.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENTS

All early descriptions are unanimous in saying that the men generally went about entirely naked. When cloaks were worn, as a rule, they reached to the waist. Chiefs had a longer cloak that reached to the ankles. These cloaks were made of the skins of cony, hare, fox or sea otter. Canoe owners wore a distinctive cape like a doublet reaching to the waist and this was made of bear skin.

The women were clothed with becoming modesty. The clothing consisted chiefly of a skirt uncouthly fitted into shape and made either of antelope hide, white or colored, and extending to the knees, or a deerskin around the waist with a beaver skin in back. Some of these skirts were stained with a handsome red color and shells and pendants were used for the margins of the skirts. They covered their heads with trays and baskets shaped like the crown of a hat and were decorated with fine patterns. For adornment they wore trinkets made of small sea shells and various stones. They bound their hair tightly and gathered it back in such a way as to form a queue and wore it with an adornment of shells.

Usually, however, the hair was worn flowing and was of fine texture. A few of the men shaved their beards with tweasers, clam or oyster shells. Some of the Indians had the cartilage of their noses pierced. All had their ears perforated in which they wore small pieces of cane about the thickness of a small finger. These canes were more than a half a palm long. In the cane they carried powder made of wild tobacco or some other thing. Besides the knife carried in the hair, they carried a small sweat stick or bone, long and somewhat sharp with which they removed perspiration. The knife was thin, a third of a *vara* long (a *vara* is 2' 9") at the end of which they fitted a rather long flint with pitch.



TOWNS AND STRUCTURES

The large, well-built and well-laid-out towns of the Chumash elicited the admiration of the Spaniards. The dwellings were round, semi-spherical huts with a door facing the east and with an aperture on top. These capacious dwellings were built around frames of very strong poles which were arched to meet on top. Thick grass was used for weaving walls between the poles. Some of the houses had a double mat at the door, one of which swung inward, the other outward. At times the entrance was blocked by a whale bone or stick. Openings in the woven grass were provided to let in air.

The Canaliño Indians slept in beds called *tepestles*, an advance in living conditions which entitled these Indians to be considered superior. These beds were really high bedsteads and were constructed of heavy wood. A reed mat served as the mattress while four additional reed mats formed the curtains of the bedroom. The bedstead for the children was below the larger one for adults. Some of the men, however, slept in subterranean caves outside their huts the better to defend their village in case of attack.

A *temescal*, playground and cemetery were found in the fully developed villages. The *temescal* or place of sweat baths, used only by the men, was partly subterranean and was firmly built of poles and earth. On top there was a door besides an opening. Within the pit a fire was built to which the men descended by ladder. There they sat around until they sweated profusely. Thereupon they ran out, jumped into the surf and bathed.

The playground consisted of a smooth, level portion of ground similar to a bowling green with low walls around it. Thereupon the Indians played a game by rolling a small half round stick. The cemetery was located close to the village. A pole or stick stuck in the ground indicated a grave. These poles were painted in various colors, white, black or red. Objects belonging to the deceased, such as skirts, baskets, shells, arrows, hair, were placed thereon. Over the graves the Indians placed ribs or other large animal bones.

Idols consisting of sticks or stone figurines, painted in colors and surrounded with plumage, were placed near a village and the fields to protect seeds and crops. To such spots the natives would come to worship and offer food. The Spaniards called such

places adoratories. In the Santa Barbara area, the Indians called their god, *Sup*, in whose honor they scattered seeds and bird feathers along the road as an act of gratitude.

CANOES AND FISHING

The artifacts are indicative of the cultural level of the area. The men built canoes of pine boards, well joined and caulked, with graceful lines. The boards were fastened with cords and caulked with tar. These canoes were eight Spanish *varas* in length and one *vara* in width (22' by 19"). They had prows on either end. Some of the canoes were even decorated with little shells and were painted with hematite.

These canoes were capable of holding from eight to ten persons though usually only three or four persons went out to sea at a time. The two rowers sat on an elevated plank in the middle, while two others rode at each end. To row, the Indians used long, double-bladed paddles about two *varas* long (5' 6") and they maneuvered these canoes with incredible agility and swiftness. They had no knowledge of the use of iron or steel and made these canoes as well as other objects with nothing more than flint instruments. These canoes nevertheless were light enough to be carried by two men. Ten or twelve would beach a boat loaded with fish and they would carry the entire mass on their shoulders to the house where the captain of the launch lived.

— Fish were plentiful in the Channel and served as one of the staple foods of the Canaliños. These plied the Channel not only for sea-fool but also to barter with the natives of the islands. Sea-bream, whitefish, curbina, sardines, cochinito and tuny together with crabs were the principal types of sea-food obtained. The streams held trout, spinebacks, machuros and turtles. The tridents used by the Indians were of bone. The barb was well shaped and adapted for use. The fishhooks were made of shell, cleverly fashioned. To catch sardines, the Indians used baskets wherein they placed ground-up leaves of the cactus plant for bait. While the fish nibbled, the Indians cast their nets.

— On land, besides the seeds they gathered, they went out gathering *islay*, a sort of wild cherry and on the hunt sought venison, rabbits, squirrels, rats and generally any small animal they could catch.



CANALINO ARTIFACTS

[Basketware was another product of the Channel Indians. Together with trays, they were made of reeds of various designs. Wooden plates and bowls were of various sizes and forms and gracefully designed. These were made by both men and women. The plates were made from the roots of the oak and alder. The Indians manufactured mortars and crocks and plates of black stone cut by means of flint.]

[Their arrows were made of wood. The bows were small, about a *vara* in length, but very strong. These were wound with tendons. The bows had a graceful form.]

Necklaces were made from small, flat, round shells they gathered along the beach. The Indians embroidered their utensils and the bands of their headgear with shells and small stones of three colors. Mother-of-pearl was also used to make beautiful inlaid work on the rims and sides of stone mortars and other utensils. They fashioned feather head-dresses and skins for wear. From cane, the natives made a primitive flute and rattles of cane, dried and split. The men adorned themselves for the dance and for war with ground clays and stones of red, white and blue colors. The women painted themselves for the dance.

[The Indians' only tools were the knife and the punch, the women employing the latter. It consisted of a piece of sharp bone like an awl from the foreleg of a deer's shin bone. They carried a knife across the head fastened in the hair. It was made of flint, tongue-shaped, and had very sharp edges. In it they placed a small handle of straight polished wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The knives were made by rubbing and by natural stone in contact with harder ones, with water and fine sand.]

DANCES AND VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

For the dances which are frequently mentioned — the Indians performed frequently for the early Spanish expeditions — both men and women were painted. The women held in each hand feathers of various colors. Only two pairs of each sex were chosen to perform the dance while two musicians played on their flutes. The rest made noise with their rattles and sang in a very displeasing way at least to Spanish ears. Song and dance, however, were

done in such good time and unison that real harmony was produced.

Each village had a captain or chief called *temí*. At times certain captains had a certain overlordship over others. A chief enjoyed absolute independence and his only role was that of military commander. He was chosen, as might be expected, for his intrepidity and his position lasted for life. A chief was allowed two wives, other Indians but one. Wives could be put away at will, however, or for adultery, and remarriage was permitted. The marriage rite consisted in mere mutual consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS, MEDICAL USAGES, VICES

— When an Indian died he was carried to the adulatory where there was an idol. There the people kept watch during the night and at daybreak gathered about a large fire. Four persons performed the burial ceremony. One smoked tobacco in a large stone pipe. He began to encircle the body and was followed by the three other celebrants. On coming to the deceased he removed the covering, a skin, with which the head had been covered, then blew smoke upon the head. A song was sung at the person's feet. Each one of the relatives then approached and presented a string of beads to the chief celebrant. Then all the mourners gave forth a sorrowful outcry. The four men then took the remains to the cemetery and at the interment placed some objects with the deceased while others were placed on top the grave. Many excavations done in the Channel area reveal that the Indians were buried with their arms crossed and their knees bent backwards towards their bosoms.]

The missionary fathers stationed at the mission in 1813, when asked by the Spanish government to give an ethnological account of the Indians, threw some light into their former pagan customs and culture in addition to that given us in the early diaries and reports. The missionaries stated that the Indians — a characteristic among primitives — had neither punished nor corrected their children, that they found that the women were more inclined than the men towards piety and virtue. For their physical ills, they used sea water purges, surf bathing and warm water baths and injections. The illnesses they suffered were those "common to all mankind." With regard to computing time, they counted the hours by the sun and the months according to the moon. The mission-



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Santa Barbara Mission Archives

Raising of the Cross at Presidio Santa Barbara by Serra, 1782

aries considered the Indians' chief vices, lying, unchastity and theft. That they had a natural taste and ability in music was evidenced by their later interest in European instruments.

MISSIONS FOUNDED ALONG THE CHANNEL

When Mission San Buenaventura was founded in 1782, it may be said that the Christianization and Europeanization of the Channel Indians began. Both the military and religious authorities were in agreement that three missions and a presidio along the Channel were necessary to accomplish this end. Presidio Santa Barbara was established on April 21, 1782, but the mission was delayed until Dec. 4, 1786. Its territory took in about the whole of present Santa Barbara County including the islands. When Purísima Mission was established in December of 1787, the western part of the county was disjoined from the jurisdiction of Mission Santa Barbara. When Mission Santa Inés was established in 1804, Santa Barbara's mission territory was further delimited.

The baptismal register for the Indians of Mission Santa Barbara still extant in the mission archives contains 373 leaves, $8\frac{1}{2}$ " x 12", bound together in flexible leather. Its initial page was inscribed by Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. The register contains the individual records of 4,771 baptized Indians under the jurisdiction of the mission between Dec. 31, 1786, and Sept. 14, 1858. This

register, together with those of marriages and burials, the padrón and the annual reports enable us to follow in detail the growth of the mission and the gradual change from paganism to Christianity as effected along the Santa Barbara Channel.

FIRST-FRUITS AT SANTA BARBARA

There is little to report documentary-wise on the relations between the Spaniards and the local Indians from the founding of the presidio at Santa Barbara and the establishment of the mission. Since the presidio was less than a mile away from Siujtu, relations between the Indians and the soldiers by the very nature of things must have been frequent. From time to time a padre came up from San Buenaventura to Santa Barbara for divine services and to care for the sick, so no doubt here too, the padre took the occasion to foster good relations with the local Indians and to obtain their good will. However, little of this is found in documents. The presidio commander, José Francisco Ortega in 1787 reported that Yanunali, the Indian chief of Siujtu, while at first reluctant to co-operate, finally gave in and aided the Spaniards, and used his influence over neighboring chiefs to overcome disinclination towards the Spaniards. There is no doubt too, that while Fathers Paterna and Oramas, the first missionaries at Santa Barbara during the interim when they lived at the presidio from the founding of the mission till early in May when the original mission buildings on the hill were ready for use and occupancy, took advantage of the time to be in frequent converse with the Indians of Siujtu and other nearby rancherias to explain the purpose of their presence, and their objectives in the mission life of the future. Already during the first month in residence, Paterna baptized three Indians, all adults, on Dec. 31, 1786, in the chapel of the presidio. It is well to recall that Father Paterna had been at San Luis Obispo since 1777 and had had ample time to familiarize himself with the Chumash tongue. These first local converts to Christianity were Antonio Maria (Cayatu in paganism), Vicente Maria (Siocetu in paganism), and Vicente a Paulo (Muniyaut in paganism), who were respectively, twenty-two, fifteen and fourteen years old. The presidio commander, Felipe de Goycochea, was their godfather. The first baptisms administered in the original mission chapel, May 4, 1787, were those of nine Indians, all adults, whom Father Oramas baptized. They constitute entries 73 to 81 in the register. The



register is a detailed and prolific source of information on a variety of topics outside the religious field and this data has been used here to make it yield all it is worth.

HOW THE INDIANS ENTERED THE MISSION

The four principal areas from which the Chumash Indians came into the mission community were those from the coastal towns between the Rincón and Gaviota, the channel islands, the Santa Inés Valley area (until 1804) and the mountain country to the north of Santa Barbara. As converts increased the number of Indian towns grew smaller until they finally ceased to exist, though there was no concentrated rush to enter into mission and civilized life. Of the total number of baptisms entered into the Santa Barbara register, 4,771, we find that 1,479 or about one-third of the total were natives of the Christian pueblo to the west of the mission, who were the offspring of Christian Indian parents. From the immediate neighborhood of Santa Barbara, Tanayán (El Pedregoso) in Mission Canyon, twenty-nine baptisms took place. Father Tapis already in February, 1801, in the burial register stated that this Indian village had then already ceased to exist. It was probably but a small one.

MONTECITO, SANTA BARBARA AND GOLETA VILLAGES

The Montecito village, called Salaguas by the Indians and Montecito by the Spaniards, and known also by the Christian name of Rancheria San Bernardino, records fifty-nine baptisms. The Indian village of Santa Barbara proper, Siujtu, near the juncture of the mesa and the sea, had 185 baptisms. To it was applied the Christian name, Rancheria San Antonio. Thus the total number of Indians from the immediate area of Santa Barbara to receive baptism was 273.

As already stated, Tanayán had ceased to exist by February, 1801. The last baptism from Salaguas was in 1806, the final one from Siujtu in 1808. Thus by 1808 the Indian villages from this immediate area had ceased to exist. This was in a period of twenty-two years. Comparing these population statistics with those of 1769 and some years after it is evident that not all the Indians of this vicinity accepted baptism, only perhaps half or even less. This on the assumption of course that the population had remained

at least stable. The same is true for other rancherias still to be considered.

The largest number of Indian converts from a single area, aside from the Christian Indian village itself, was from the Goleta area where we stated the greatest population of the coastline existed. In the mission period it appears there were but four villages on and about the lagoon which are frequently mentioned and identified and given a Christian name: Saspili, *alias*, Mescaltitán or Rancheria San Miguel; Alcajch known as Rancheria San Francisco; Geló also known as Rancheria San Miguel; and Geliec known as Rancheria Las Llagas. The total number of Indians baptized from these four villages was 575. The last Indians baptized from these villages occurred in 1805 so that may be considered the year of the extinction of the many-centuried Indian center at Goleta.

DOS PUEBLOS, CARPINTERIA AND RINCON VILLAGES

The next Indian center in importance and population and which after the Christian Pueblo and Goleta area gave the greatest number of converts to the mission were the twin rancherias known as Cuyamo and Miquigui, otherwise called Dos Pueblos or the Rancheria of San Pedro y San Pablo. The total number baptized from there amounted to 352. The last Indian from Miquigui was baptized in 1809 and the last from Cuyamo in 1812.

Several leagues west of Dos Pueblos was the Indian town of Sisuchi at Quemada. One hundred and fifty Indians from there were baptized between 1786 and 1805 when the last baptism was administered. Other towns between Sisuchi and Point Concepción figuring in the mission records were Casil or La Nueva at Gaviota Beach with ninety baptisms, and Chichilop or El Cojo somewhat east of the Point which gave only a few baptisms for already in 1787 it came under the jurisdiction of Mission Purísima.

In the Carpinteria area we have sixty-two baptisms from the "Carpinteria" proper, known as Misopsno in the register without any particular Christian name. There were forty-two baptisms from Coloc, an Indian town midway between Carpinteria and Montecito called by the Spaniards El Paredón or El Paderón. Misopsno is no longer mentioned in the register after 1805, nor is Coloc after 1804. The village of Chuccu or Succu at the Rincón



at the southern end of the Carpinteria Valley yielded only a few baptisms as recorded in the register of Santa Barbara. A number from there may have been baptized at San Buenaventura between 1782 and 1787.

VILLAGES OF THE SIERRA

There were a significant number of native rancherias in the valleys of the sierra north of Santa Barbara as the register attests. Among such villages of some prominence where the names frequently occur, were Guisapa (Miasap) "quite a distance from the mission" with fifty-nine baptisms; Huililic with forty-five; Saccaya "in the sierra" probably in the Mt. Figueroa area, with twenty baptisms; Siguaya "in the sierra" which had twenty-two; Siguecon, twenty-four; Snigua, with fifty-nine; Stuccu "in the sierra" and "quite a distance from the mission" with seventy-five. Other towns just over the range from Santa Barbara and those in the Santa Inés area prominently mentioned were: Calahuasa near Santa Inés with sixty-four baptisms; Tegueps at the northern end of present Cachuma Dam, with 149 baptisms; Snajalayegua, along the Santa Inés River north of the mountain range behind Santa Barbara, with seventy-five. The last baptism administered at Calahuasa in the Santa Barbara register was in 1811, from Tegueps, in the same year, and from Snajalayegua in 1822.

VILLAGES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

From the Channel Islands about 250 Indians were baptized and recorded in the mission register, though some of the island Indians were baptized also at Missions San Buenaventura, Santa Inés and Purísima. The principal rancherias mentioned in our mission register were those of Cajatsa, Liamu, Maschal and Lacayamu. Almost every year from 1787 on some Indians from the islands were baptized at the mission. However, the greater majority who were baptized received the sacrament between the years 1814 and 1822. The last recorded baptism from the islands occurred in 1828. There is no record of any padre from the mission actually baptizing on one of the islands nor is there any certain record of a padre visiting the islands during the mission period. On one occasion a neophyte versed in administering baptism, went over to Santa Cruz in 1814 and baptized thirty-nine Indians too old or infirm to come to the mainland. Thus the majority of the

island Indians who became converts could have done so only through the advice or persuasion of their fellow-tribesmen, for the natives had no direct contact with the padres in their island communities. Father Tapis had considered the possibility of founding a mission on Santa Cruz Island but this never became a reality.

In recapitulation it may be stated that all the Indians who still survived along the coast between the Rincón and Gaviota became Christians by 1812, that those of the interior mountain country became such by 1822 and those of the islands by 1828. By this latter date it is safe to hold that almost all the Indian villages of the area had ceased to exist and that the missionization of the Indians of the general area had been accomplished. The only work left to be done was their further Christianization and civic formation within the Christian community at the mission itself. Thus the work of converting the Chumash in the Santa Barbara area and of bringing them into mission life covered a period of forty-one years (1787-1828).

YARDSTICK OF PROGRESS IN CONVERSIONS

It is also clear from the records that the bulk of conversions was made during the first eighteen years of the mission's existence (1786-1804) which were accordingly the strenuous years. The thousandth baptism was conferred on Nov. 3, 1796; the two thousandth on Jan. 12, 1803; the three thousandth on June 8, 1804. Between this last date and Sept. 14, 1858, only 1,771 baptisms were administered, a period of fifty-four years. The banner year for baptisms was 1802 when a total of 832 were administered. On many days in this period of peak conversions, numbers were baptized at a single time in the mission church after having gone through the period of the catechumenate in the mission pueblo for a considerable period. Not all the Indians who were baptized and entered into the mission register actually came to the mission to live. A number were baptized in emergency because of the imminence of death and many of these actually succumbed. They were often baptized in their native villages by passing missionaries, soldiers or Indian catechists. The last Indian baptized in the present mission church occurred on Sept. 12, 1858, when Father Francisco Sánchez baptized Juan María, the child of neophytes. The number of Indians baptized outside the mission in danger of



death numbered about 650 or about one-seventh of the total of the baptisms administered.

PEDRO YANUNALI AND HIS FAMILY OF SANTA BARBARA

Santa Barbara's Indian chief, Yanunali, was baptized only on Sept. 12, 1797, when about sixty years of age, by Father Tapis. Pablo Cota of the presidio was his sponsor. Yanunali received the Christian name of Pedro. His wife, Anastasia, received baptism at the same time. On the same day they renewed their their consent and received the Christian sacrament of matrimony. Yanunali's father's name had been Liguicuchuit, and that of his mother who received baptism on July 31, 1797, María Ignacia. His mother-in-law, described as "very old" received baptism on Feb. 11, 1804. She received the name, Juana. Yanunali's children: Juan Bautista received baptism on Sept. 3, 1788, while in danger of death at his native rancharia of Siujtu, from the hands of Sergeant Raimundo Carrillo, and died two days later; Mateo Tatahuit was baptized on Sept. 11, 1797, at the age of about thirty-five; Pedro Celestino Cani, received baptism on Oct. 23, 1802, at the age of about twelve. He was the son of a pagan mother and was born at Cajatsa on the islands. Margarita de Cortona was baptized on Jan. 23, 1803, about twenty years of age, also a native of Cajatsa; Antonia María, on Feb. 14, 1803, about twenty-two years of age, was baptized at Siujtu, in condition of grave illness. Pedro Yanunali lived until 1805 and was buried in the Mission Cemetery on May 2, by Father Amestoy. Many other chiefs of the area are mentioned in the registers but their catalogue would be too long to mention.

The first sponsors at Indian baptisms were soldiers of the presidio and their wives. The first Indian neophyte sponsor was Rosalía María on July 8, 1787. For sometime after that Spaniards continued to be sponsors until more Indians became acquainted with their duties and obligations and then they acted in that capacity almost alone. There was one sponsor for each baptism, a man for a male, a woman for a female. When groups were baptized, one sponsor stood for a number baptized that day.

THE MARRIAGE REGISTER

The marriage and burial registers of Mission Santa Barbara are similar to the baptismal register in form. The first contains

299 usable leaves, of which, however, only 127 leaves were actually filled. This marriage register contains the records of 1,427 Christian Indian marriages contracted between Feb. 3, 1787, and July 5, 1857. The first marriage of Indians occurred at the royal presidio chapel on Feb. 3, 1787, between Joseph Manuel and Catarina María, neophytes, witnessed by Father Paterna. The first Indian marriage mentioned as having taken place in the original mission church occurred on July 9, 1787, between Teodosio and Petra María, witnessed by Father Oramas. The first recorded Indian marriage having taken place in the present mission church occurred on March 12, 1821, when nine couples were married by Father Antonio Ripoll. The last Indian marriage to occur in the mission church was blessed on July 5, 1857, between Santiago and Refugio. It was witnessed by Father Francisco Sánchez.

The data in the marriage register is less valuable than that emanating from the baptismal or death registers. The reason is obvious since the individuals noted in the marriage register already had their complete vital statistics recorded in the baptismal register and in the *padrón* or family register. The marriage register did declare, however, whether the Indians had been married in paganism before accepting Christianity or whether they were now being married for the first time, or whether they were single or widows or widowers. It might be stated here in passing that the morality of married Christian Indians was quite good for in each case illegitimate or spurious children are mentioned and this is rather rare. Such annotations are to be found in the baptismal register. It is interesting to observe here that the padres of the mission kept the Spanish custom even in Indian marriages of having the groom hand the bride thirteen pieces of silver coin, for which purpose they were kept at the mission and used at each wedding. This item is already mentioned in the first inventory of the mission in 1787.

THE BURIAL REGISTERS

The register of burials has 300 usable leaves and was used in its entirety. Instead of starting a fresh book for burials as Vol. II, the padres of the mission made use of the remaining pages of the presidio register of deaths which had been used exclusively for whites down to 1842. From that date it became the register for both whites and Indians. The first volume of the death register



for Indians contains 3,997 burial entries between Aug. 8, 1787, and Dec. 3, 1841. The second register contains burial entries of Indians from Jan. 9, 1842, until July 7, 1872. The number of entries amounts to 657 which makes a grand total of Indian burials between 1787 and 1872 of 4,645.

The first Christian Indian buried at Santa Barbara was that of Agustin called Ysaga in paganism, who was a native of Saspili (Goleta) which occurred in 1787. He was buried by Father Paterna *in the original church*. The last recorded burial of an Indian (No. 2160 in the Presidio Register) was that of Erlinda, one year and six months old, on July 7, 1872.

In the case of Indian burials the missionaries gave both the pagan and Christian names of the deceased (the latter whenever possible), the names of the parents, husband or wife, or other relatives, whether the deceased had been single or married, whether an adult or a child. At times the position the Indian had held is given, such as whether he was a chief, an interpreter, an alcalde, etc. Then the place of death, the place of burial, and the date, the place of origin, sometimes the date of death but this rarely, which sacraments had been received before death, and if not, the reason why, the circumstances of death if these were out of the ordinary, and the name of the officiating priest.

As one may already have deduced from the facts gleaned from the baptismal register, not all the Christian Indians who died, were actually buried in the mission cemetery. Some had been baptized in remote villages and died there shortly after. Usually they were buried in their native rancherias if they died there. This custom was also followed if the Indians were visiting there from the mission and died during the visit. They were buried either by other Christians who also happened to be there or by the pagans. The frequent presence of Christian Indians in the various rancherias when another Christian died is testimony of the frequent vacation privileges given to the Christian Indians of visiting their native rancherias. At times a cross was erected over the grave into which a deceased Christian had been buried to distinguish it from a pagan burial. Thus a significant number of Indians, adults and children, who died outside the mission compound, never became active members of the mission community nor were they buried in the mission cemetery because of the distance and the

difficulty of transportation. The actual number of Christian Indians buried in the mission cemetery, however, is just a little short of 4,000 for those buried between the years of 1789 and 1854.

In most cases death occurred as a result of old age or an illness. Where the circumstances of death were extraordinary, such facts were noted, such as death by snake bite, having been devoured by wild animals, a fall from a tree or having been crushed by a heavy stone. Such annotations, however, are rather rare. Some deaths of a sudden nature are also reported. Santa Barbara's first Indian chief, Pedro Yanunali, of Siujtu, who was buried in the mission cemetery, April 5, 1805, by Father Marcos Amestoy, died suddenly at the age of about sixty-six.

CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

A cemetery in connection with the mission is first mentioned in 1789. Its size was gradually increased until it obtained its present limit possibly by the year 1820. The question is often asked how it was possible to bury nearly four thousand Indians in so limited a space. This question may be easily answered. In the cemetery itself stone walls were fashioned in the ground about six feet apart and between these walls the remains of the Indians were laid (clothed in mats) and in several layers. In the course of time the bones were dug up and carried to a charnel house in the northeast corner where now are the burial vaults for friars. This made room for subsequent burials in the ground. The customs are described by such travelers as Robinson and Farnham.

Abnormalities among the Indians are surprisingly low as indicated by the registers (usually that of baptism) when the padres first came in contact with the individuals described, and in consideration of the 4,771 Indians that came under the jurisdiction of Mission Santa Barbara. Nine were found to be blind, five were mutes, seven lame or crippled although quite a number of elderly Indians were described as *imposibilitados* or not moveable because of their age and attending infirmities, two were described as consumptive, one of whom was a chief, four demented, one since birth, and another mute and dwarfed besides. One is described as a *fatuo*, or out of his mind. One thing is to be said for certain: these Spaniards were great observers and meticulous recorders. No Indian was so obscure or unimportant to Church or



State that anything of value concerning him for contemporary or future use failed to be recorded. These registers were primary ecclesiastical in purpose. They were also the official records of the state.

THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE CHUMASH ✱

From here on it will be our purpose to show the Chumash living at the mission under the tutelage of the gray-robed missionaries of St. Francis absorbing Christianity in theory and practice as well as the elements of European civilization after the Spanish pattern. From the very beginning the Christianized Indians as well as those preparing for Christianity and living at the mission, the neophytes and catechumens, were under the almost complete control of the padres. In 1773, this fact was spelled out in unmistakable terms by Viceroy Bucareli, making it the law of the land that "the government, control and education of the baptized Indians should belong exclusively to the missionaries." Moreover, supervision and education was to be "so carried out in all economic affairs as would a father of a family regarding the care of his household, and the education and correction of his children." Only in cases of blood, or murder and serious injury, did the military have direct jurisdiction. In a word, the missionaries were in complete charge of spiritualities and temporalities of a mission, and in exercising both these functions they were aided and protected by the military and were to receive the full moral and financial support of the highest civilian authorities. Experience had taught the missionary that the Indian was beholden chiefly to him who would as readily distribute corn and trinkets as blessings and sacraments. The spiritual message would be the more readily accepted if it were accompanied by economic aid. The main purpose in the mind of the missionary would always be the salvation of souls through Christian indoctrination and practice. In the milieu of the circumstances, the missionary realized that however time-consuming and onerous the economic aspects of the mission would be to him, such a burden was an absolute necessity, if he were to accomplish his primary end. The Spanish state likewise saw that this was the best means for the Indian to receive both a Christian and Spanish social, political and economic training. The Spanish missionary then was an apostle of the Church and an agent of the State. The Indian was to become a practical and practicing Chris-

tian and a useful citizen gradually to be integrated into the life of the Spanish commonwealth. The methods that had been tried in Texas and in the Sierra Gorda of Mexico were now to be applied in California.

LANGUAGE

The first question that had to be resolved was the essential means of human communication, language. Of necessity, the missionary had to learn the native Chumash. The government was likewise solicitous that the Chumash learn Spanish. The missionaries, who were realists, and who knew conditions by living daily with the natives, did not push this government desire too far. They realized that the old people could not learn the new language and that some of the young were not interested. The missionaries concentrated on teaching some of the bright, young boys Spanish and these became proficient interpreters for the padres and their own people. When the government in 1813 sought an answer on this question, Fray Ramón Olbés of Mission Santa Barbara replied: "in order that they devote themselves to speaking Spanish, it is necessary to give them time. The reason why they do not know Spanish is because they have frequent intercourse and communication with their pagan relatives, and because those who receive baptism are of an age in which it is impossible for them to learn it; nor do they care about it." It would have been imprudent and shortsighted on the part of the missionary to force this language issue on the somewhat unwilling Indian when other more important matters had to be taken care of. As a consequence Mission Santa Barbara remained bi-lingual. The missionaries taught religion daily at the mission in Chumash and Spanish. We possess no documents as to how well the Indians absorbed Spanish with the passing of the years. No doubt, many more learned Spanish as the mission progressed and contacts with the whites became more frequent.

How far removed the Chumash language was from the Spanish idiom may be seen in the following rendition of the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Canaliño Indian: *Dios cascoco upalequen Alaipai quia-enicho opte; paquinini juch quique etchuet cataug itimi tiup caneche Alaipai. Ulamugo ila ulalisagua piquiyup guinsceaniyup uqui amog canequi que quisagiu sucutanajun uti-agmayiup oyup quie uti leg uleyop stequiyup il auteyup. Amen.*



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HOUSING

When the first Indians became Christians they moved from their native villages to the immediate vicinity of the mission and formed there a new community or civic entity, so that in what is now the city of Santa Barbara there were three distinct communities or towns: the native village of Siujtu near the junction of the beach and the mesa; the Spanish pueblo about the presidio; and the Christian pueblo or rancheria at the mission. The missionaries required the baptized Indian to live in the new pueblo and there lead a community life, religiously, socially and economically so that by daily practice in a new mode of existence he would absorb more thoroughly what he had been taught. Mission life was eminently a life of learning by doing. There was gradual integration in all lines of endeavor. The first converts continued to build their semi-spherical brush huts in their new location as they pleased but in a designated area for the sake of order and practicality. These huts were easily constructed in a short time nor were they demeaning to the Indians who had never known any other. When living in them became too intolerable by reason of vermin and fleas, they burned these huts as in days of paganism and quickly constructed others. In the course of time, however, the fathers induced the Chumash to move into new quarters especially built for them in a gradual manner.

[These were adobe houses with tile roofs, each having a moveable window and a door. Each house measured 18 by 12 feet. They were plastered and whitewashed without and whitewashed within. Construction of such quarters began in 1798. Thus for a time until the entire village became Europeanized, the Spanish type of house and the Canaliño hut stood side by side. Construction of the adobe type of house continued year after year until 1807 by which time 252 such homes had been built. And this was not accomplished without having recourse to extraordinary means. Father Estevan Tapis tells us in 1803 that forty day-laborers were in the Sierra de Saccaya, fifteen leagues or over forty miles from Santa Barbara, obtaining timber for the forty-eight houses that were being built that year for as many neophyte families.

This construction of the Christian pueblo by the mission was the first planned housing project in Santa Barbara. Not even the



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The Building of Mission Santa Barbara by Padres and Indians

nascent pueblo of the presidio could claim as much for that was gradually built up in rather haphazard fashion.

At the mission the houses of the Indians were built one along side the other and back to back along straight streets which intersected at right angles. These homes stood to the west of the mission structure and continued on for a distance almost to present Santa Barbara Street. Pueblo Street in the immediate neighborhood today vividly recalls the old Indian town.

A piece of land was added to these home properties which served the village as its own orchard and garden. An adobe wall, 8½ feet high capped with tile and measuring 3300 feet enclosed the pueblo. Remnants of the few remaining houses that once constituted the village may still be seen in photographs of the mission in the 1880's.

Outside this wall and directly in front of the main entrance of the mission living quarters, the fathers erected a fountain and community wash basin in 1808. Here the Indian women did their



washing in the European manner. This was erected as the ancient document tells us and the modern plaque in the fountain repeats it, "*en beneficio de la humanidad*," for the benefit of humanity.

It was in this village that the Christian Indians lived and where the greater part of the Chumash slept. However, at Santa Barbara as at the other missions, very early provision was made for unmarried women and young girls in an institution known as the monjerio. During the day and after work hours they could be with their folks in the Christian village. At night, however, for the better protection of their morality, they slept in the *monjerio* under the supervision of a matron. This dormitory building at Santa Barbara had a tile floor, a large window for ventilation and necessary facilities. It was kept locked during the night. There a fire was kept burning and a lighted candle was always in evidence. The first *monjerio* was built in 1789.]

Some of the single men and boys slept within the mission quadrangle in preference to going to their individual homes, in order to be together, a custom which the fathers allowed to continue. Curfew was announced at 8 o'clock with the ringing of the Poor Souls' bell and the gate of the Indian pueblo was closed at nine.

CLOTHING

[The total nakedness of the Canaliño men in paganism, of course, was not tolerated once they became Christian, and the seminakedness of the women was supplanted by a more European mode of dress. Hence cloth was a prime requisite for even the founding of a mission, and this was initially sent from Mexico, until the sheep and wool industry could be instituted to supply the necessary clothing for the Indian community. Here at Santa Barbara, as indeed, at other missions, the introduction of sheep and the working of wool into garments brought about two major industries.

Mission Santa Barbara started with twenty-seven sheep in 1787, and by 1803, their number grew to 11,221. Ten thousand sheep were still on mission lands in 1816 but these dwindled to 2250 by 1839 about the time of the secularization. As early as 1796 weaving was already in full operation at the mission and is described as a principal branch of industry. The looms were in a room in the mission compound. Wool was woven into blankets

and coarse cloth and these distributed among the Indians. In 1800, sixty neophytes were engaged in weaving at the mission and before October in that year, 165 skirts had been manufactured besides 800 yards of woolen cloth and 700 yards of breech cloth. All these items were distributed to the Indians.

Each Indian received a blanket at the end of each year. Every six months the men and boys received a new pair of breeches and every six months a new shirt. The women and girls received a new chemise and skirt every seven months. All this clothing was of a bluish wool. Additional clothing was handed out as needed or requested. Cattle herders received a *manga* or oblong blanket with a split in the middle. They also wore boots or shoes, leggings and a hat. Old clothes had to be turned in and were burned. The sick were supplied with mattresses. Mothers and their children were given whatever they needed. In 1813, Father Olbés reported that the fathers were solicitous to have their neophytes decently dressed even though humbly, and that sometimes they had to have recourse to threats, especially in the case of older Indians, to make them comply in the matter of sufficient clothing. Those Indians who showed greater industry than the rest were given clothes similar to those worn by the Spaniards. In other words, the Indian was not spoiled unnecessarily and he was graded and rewarded according to his spirit of co-operation and industry. Olbés stated furthermore that the Indian, generally speaking, was fond of appearing well-dressed. That leather work was also done at the mission is clear from the fact that shoes and leggings were made there and that Sergeant Ortega had taught the trade to two Indian apprentices. Cattle became plenteous and their hides were tanned in vats which are still extant in Mission Park. Mission Santa Barbara started with eighty head of cattle in 1787 and this small herd grew to 5,200 in 1809, the banner year for the number of cattle on mission lands.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The domestic animals at all the missions were cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, and horses, all of which were introduced by the Spaniards. Cattle and sheep were always much more prominent than the other animals. Goats belonging to the mission numbered 250 in 1822, the mission starting with twenty-seven. Pigs were introduced at the mission only in 1808. The original number



of thirty grew to 250 in 1812. The mission had thirty-two horses in 1787. These numbered 2300 in 1813. Nine mules were at the mission in the beginning but in 1823, there were 340. The banner year for the total number of live-stock was in 1814, when there were 16,598 domestic animals on mission lands. This called for the building of corrals, some of which were constructed of stone, and stock ranches which also came into being. Thus a number of Indians were employed as *vaqueros* or cowboys, sheep-herders, sheep-shearers, cattle-branders, butchers, etc., all new avocations since 1786 when the natives merely trapped and hunted.

Mission Santa Barbara never had too much land even though its territory extended from the Rincón to Gaviota Pass by reason the narrow coastal terrain so fashioned by the close proximity of the mountains to the sea. Cattle ranches nevertheless came into being at Dos Pueblos, San Estevan, San Miguel (in the Goleta area), Hope Ranch and in the Arroyo del Burro. Such ranches even flowed over into the Santa Inés Valley at Rancho San Marcos. In these ranchos, adobe dwellings were built for the superintendent of *vaqueros* for some Indians had to remain on the spot tending the cattle.

AGRICULTURE

One of the requirements for founding a mission was the presence of water. The terrain of Santa Barbara has no significant water courses for all the creeks and arroyos are short, mostly dry outlets for water run-off from the mountain canyons to the sea. At Santa Barbara the Rio Pedregoso or Mission Creek with its affluent, Rattlesnake Canyon Creek, were used as the water supply for the mission and its agricultural lands as well as for the presidio pueblo itself. Two dams were built near the headwaters of these creeks and the water flowed by gravity through stone aqueducts to the mission where there were two reservoirs, one for storage only, a filter tank, a mill, all of which remain today in Mission Historical Park. At the mission these aqueducts ran off in various directions to water the orchards, gardens and fields. Many of these ancient aqueducts can still be seen in the area of the mission and in Mission Canyon. The so-called Indian Dam which is in a good state of preservation may be seen in the Botanical Gardens. It was built in 1807. One of the reservoirs built in the same year is still part of the Santa Barbara Water System. Not only was

[agriculture something new to the Chumash but the means to make it more fruitful and stable as well. The Indians were employed as stone cutters, plasterers, and day-laborers in securing stone for these necessary and eminently useful public works.]

A mission orchard or garden was located across from the mission, the center of which was about where Plaza Rubio is located. Another larger garden lay south of the Indian village beyond Los Olivos Street. The staple crops grown at all the missions and which were annually reported were wheat, barley, corn, beans and peas. Corn and beans were grown in San José or Abajo this side of Goleta; in the Sauzal or Hope Ranch and in Arroyo del Burro. San José had its vineyard and there were two other vineyards whose locations have not been identified. At the end of 1787, the first year of mission produce, only 265 bushels of the five staple grains and vegetables were obtained. The banner year for agricultural produce was 1821, when 12,820 bushels were obtained. The total produce of the mission between 1787 and 1834, were 223,385 bushels. Rain was an unpredictable factor in Santa Barbara so at times the missionaries had to apply for help from Missions Purísima and San Luis Obispo as they did in 1795.

Grain and other produce was stored in specially built granaries which formed part of the mission buildings and these were rationed to the Indian community through the year. Fruit produce was not enumerated in mission reports and what was grown as well as the amount can be gleaned only from isolated statements of padres or visitors to the mission.

The San José vineyard covered about nine acres and contained 2,262 vines together with about 100 fruit trees. The two other vineyards had 3,695 vine stocks. Olive trees were also planted at the mission, Los Olivos Street recalling the ancient culture. When Alfred Robinson came to Santa Barbara in 1829, he noted an orchard near the mission buildings with fruit trees and flowers, and closer to town the spacious wheat fields. When Duhaut-Cilly, French navigator, stopped off at Santa Barbara in 1827 he noted at the mission "very fine olive trees" shading straight paths, "Adam's figs," apples and pears, oranges and cherries.

A [Thus the Chumash changed from a pre-agricultural to an agricultural people within a few years. They learned the great lesson from Christian teachers that things did not only grow, but that



man could cultivate and multiply their growth. In the first years the fathers took turns at working in the fields both to encourage the natives to do likewise and to watch that the work would actually be accomplished. Thus from hunters, fishermen and seed-gatherers, they became farmers, caretakers of orchards and vineyards, they planted and harvested and developed a taste for their new menu, supplementing it with the food of the pagan days.

INDIAN SUSTENANCE

The Chumash at Santa Barbara were provided with three warm meals daily. The morning meal consisted of *atole*, a kind of mush or gruel, served from a large dipper, the weight of the food amounting to two pounds. At noon the amount was double and consisted of *pozole* or thick soup of meat, vegetable and meal. In the evening again the amount was four pounds and again consisted of *atole*. Thus each Indian received daily a minimum of eight pounds of food served from the mission stores and kitchen. To this was added fruit in season plus food of their own choice they gathered in field or hills. Father Tapis declared that "this amount was sufficient as any one can see, for some of the *pozole* remains over and is fed to the cattle." During the harvest season when work hours were longer, the laborer in the field received an extra two pounds of *atole* and *pozole*. Every three days the same extra allowance was served to those who remained at the mission. The same was done on Sundays of Lent and on the principal feast days of the Church after Mass. The sick were given whatever they desired. Fasting was never used as a form of corporal punishment nor were rations ever diminished for that reason.

Oblés in 1813 was constrained to answer the government questionnaire in the matter of food: "The meals of the Indians cannot be counted, because it may be said that for them the entire day is one continuous meal. Even during the night when they awaken from sleep, they are wont to reach out for something to eat. Their meals at the mission consist of meat, corn, beans, etc. Of these an abundance is given to each neophyte by the missionary fathers, and they prepare it as suits them best. Besides what the mission gives them, the neophytes are very fond of what they lived on in paganism, as the meat of deer, rabbits, rats, squirrels, or any little

animal they can catch; while those on the seashore have a craving for whatever the ocean produces. These Indians have no fermented drinks of their own, but they hanker after those of the white people, wherefore we conceal such."

The missionaries pointed out the fact that though only one-third of the Indians at the mission produced but that all ate, they nevertheless tried to treat all well in the matter of food. The old, the children and the infirm then constituted two-thirds of the mission community. Still some baptized Indians ran away at times, alleging hunger even though the fathers knew and stated the fact that the pagan Indians of the sierra were confronted with the problem of perennial hunger. If Indians at the mission complained of being hungry despite their rations and self-supplied food, the fathers readily gave the individuals more, even food from their own table such as bread, or a special dish of corn *atole* such as was administered to the sick, or a good piece of mutton at noon and over two *cuartillos* of milk daily (32 ounces of liquid).

WORKING HOURS

The missionary realized two things with regard to the Indian and work: in their pagan state the Chumash had quite a bit of leisure and in his Christian state he had to work in an orderly fashion to fit into the European pattern. But the missionaries were prudent enough to insist that this labor be undergone only in a mitigated form and manner. Few labor unions today have even reached the working hour schedule, the fringe benefits or the social security of the California Indians either at Santa Barbara or elsewhere.

The regular time to rouse the Christian Indian community from slumber was about sunrise. The bell was sounded about an hour after sunrise to commence work and it was often two hours after the sound of the bell before work actually commenced. At the call of the bell for work, except those who were to do piece-work, the Chumash assembled in the mission square or patio where the work of the day was assigned to each one. Many went to their houses first before going out to work. Labors ended at 11:15, the hour when the padres dined. In the afternoon, except those who were engaged in sowing, planting or harvesting, the Indians never had to work longer than an hour and a half.



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*Mission Santa Barbara after 1870 showing Remains of
the Christian Indian Village to the Left*

Men made adobes. Nine Indians made 360 a day, or forty apiece. The soil was soft and water was nearby. Such adobe-makers left their work about 11 a.m., never worked on Saturdays and sometimes not on Fridays since many already finished their allotted number of adobes earlier in the week. Sixteen young Indian men and at times many more middle-aged Indians, with two women who brought sand and straw, made 500 tiles a day. The troughs with the clay were close to the workers and were always filled. These Indians also finished their work about eleven in the morning, nor did they work on Saturdays.

Weavers at looms working between March and October wove daily ten yards of woolen cloth. Whoever did more was paid at two *reales* for each additional ten yards. Often these weavers produced 100 yards every five days. They were paid with glass

beads or with wheat. Those who wove blankets, nine spans in length, had to finish three every day. Carders combed three pounds of wool into cloth for skirts, shirts and breeches and four pounds when woven for blankets. Spinners spun one pound of yarn a day.

From November until March the task was even lighter. Then the weaver made eight yards of cloth, the carders combed two pounds, four ounces a day, the spinners produced twelve ounces. Most of those employed at the looms finished their work before noon. Robinson in 1829, saw young girls spinning and preparing wool for the loom in the patio of the mission. He also saw carpenters, saddlers and shoemakers working at their trades.

Women were assigned to the work of grinding corn on the metate. Each one ground or crushed two *almuds* (an *almud* is $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *fanega* or 4.275 quarts, dry) a day, for the making of *atole*. When this was intended for bread, eight or nine women together ground seven *almuds* of soaked wheat. Pregnant women were never put to hard work or even to grind wheat for *atole*. Women in this condition were listed in a book and were given lighter work. They washed wool and cleaned wheat, sometimes pulled up grass and weeds in orchards. They were allowed to take frequent walks. After the birth of their children, they were allowed to stay home as long as they desired. Sometimes they supplied wood for the *pozolera*. The Indians themselves laughed at this solicitude of the padres concerning pregnant women. Such thoughtfulness was not considered in paganism. At harvest time the women made *atole* each one grinding an *almud* of wheat. All the women, when the mission cart was not around, brought adobes to the men who were always near. Also they brought tiles and bricks, seldom stones and then these were small ones used for foundations. The heavy work was done by the men. Children over nine were employed in combing wool, helping at the looms assisting weavers, guarded fresh tiles and adobes lest they be broken by animals, or acted as scarecrows in the fields and orchards. Most of the time, however, they played.

The trades and avocations which the Indians exercised at the mission were many and each supplied a need for a self-sustaining community. The mission often supplied cattle and goods to the presidio as the account books clearly enumerate. Up until 1810



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supplies continued to come by ship from Mexico, things that could not be obtained in California, prominent among which were church goods. As the mission developed more artisans from Mexico arrived and these in turn taught the Indians their handicrafts. The fathers continued to be aided by the majordomo, one of the soldiers of the guard who oversaw the economic side of the mission, but under the general supervision of the fathers.

MUSIC AND THE ARTS

There were no formal schools for the Indians at the mission in the sense of our modern grade schools. What was learned was imbibed for practical use and this was achieved by doing things under guidance. In this sense Mission Santa Barbara was a school of agriculture and animal husbandry as well as a trade school. These advances in the technology of the day helped the Indian to integrate himself into the life of the Spanish community and was to serve as a means of self-support once the missions would be secularized.

Music and singing were fostered at Mission Santa Barbara, its quality and extent dependent on the talent of the individual missionary and the instruments that could be obtained. Music was used both for ecclesiastical and social purposes. Indian men already played instruments in 1800, when the guitar, violin and viola are mentioned. When the present mission church of Santa Barbara was dedicated in 1820, which was quite a gala affair, three Indian bands of musicians participated, one from Santa Barbara, the other two from neighboring missions. They played in the mission corridors for about two hours. Prominent weddings too were occasions when music would be used, as were the important feast days of the Church. Father Narcisco Durán, towards the end of the mission period was the most prominent of the padre musicians. He had trained an Indian band at Mission San José before he came to Santa Barbara and in 1845 he stated at Santa Barbara that the musicians he had there he had trained for ten years. This padre also composed two Masses, the *Misa de Cataluña* and the *Misa Vizcaína*, which he had his Indians sing and which are sung even today at Mission Santa Barbara on special festive occasions. The scores of music remaining from mission times show the great interest of the padres in music and the Indians took readily to music and to song, even the European type introduced

by the missionaries. Mission Santa Barbara has a piece of music on display in the museum rooms having four color notations from which the four male voices could sing instead of using four separate sheets. Robert Louis Stevenson recalls on a visit to Carmel when the padres were no longer there how the Indians continued to sing the Gregorian chant and sang it well. No doubt a similar thing could be said about the Chumash at Santa Barbara. In the church there were paintings and statuary of exceptional merit for the religious inspiration of the Indian. In architecture the Mission Church and compound spoke for themselves. The Mission combined the architecture of Greece and Rome, the taste of the Moor and the Spaniard. There were bells from Peru and Mexico and Boston, silk from China and the Philippines.

RECREATION

Not all at the mission was work and prayer. There were recreations, games, fun and outings. There was plenty of leisure. The Indians had types of games of their own in which they indulged. These they played by twos or fours. One was a guessing game. Two Indians alternately guessed in which hand an opposite concealed a little stick. Another game was that of running. They ran over a very clean and smooth plot of ground throwing a hoop of straw or tule and as near to these as they could, some long, thin poles. They enjoyed walks along the beach. Some enjoyed fishing. Many liked gambling which of course was forbidden but some were able to elude the prohibition nevertheless. They became avid gamblers and were apt to gamble away the very clothes they wore.

Robinson in 1829 described a ball game indulged in between two teams, the 'Presidio Indians' and the 'Mission Indians.' It was played in the large plaza before his home and lasted a long time on a Sunday afternoon. Unfortunately the traveller did not leave us too many details of it but stated only that from two to three hundred natives were engaged in it. The ball they used was small and of hard wood which when hit bound with great force without striking the ground for two or three hundred yards. The viewer declared that tremendous enthusiasm was aroused and immense exertion was expended by either side. The 'Presidios' won.

During the period of the mission's greatest development, there



were staged at times bear and bull fights in front of the mission, one of which was vividly described by Robinson. The night before the fight, usually on a moon-lit night, Indians would go to an area in the hills where bears were apt to be found, lay out as a trap the meat of a slain bullock and lie in wait in ambush, lasso the bear, bring him to the mission and tie him to a tree. Next day in a specially prepared fenced-in area, the bear was placed therein and after him the bull. A gory fight ensued usually ending with the death of the bear.

With regard to the generality of the Mission Indians they were given liberal leaves to visit their relatives and native towns. Every Sunday after Mass at the church door or in front of the missionary's room, the names of one-fifth of all the neophytes were read aloud and these were permitted to go on their monthly excursion. Those who had enrolled in the mission from rather distant rancherias were allowed an absence of two weeks, those from closer towns, one week of vacation. If during the four weeks they had to remain at the mission, anyone showed need to go to another village beyond his monthly excursion, permission was given also in this instance. Other Indians at times asked for a day off to go fishing at the beach or to visit the presidio. These permissions were likewise given. Only at harvest time did the Indians stay longer at the mission but after that parties left alternately every two weeks. If a holy day occurred within a week when one group was to go out, they remained and the next week two-fifths instead of one-fifth of the Indians made their exit. When the *islay* or *tayiyas*, a sort of wild cherry, ripened in the mountains in September, all the Christian Indians lived in scattered fashion in the mountains. On week ends the majority came in to hear Mass. Evenings at the mission were always free-time. Some of the youths entertained themselves with musical instruments.

At Santa Barbara the Indians were also allowed to have contact with the Spaniards of the presidio. This, however, was done with due restriction which was a benefit both to Spaniard and Indian. Abuses against Christian morality occurred early but due remedies were taken. Permission was necessary to visit the presidio and this had to be done in free time. Indians came in great demand as time went on, both for domestic work as servants in the homes of Spaniards and as tradesmen for the civilians. The missionaries quote statistics to prove that when the Indians worked

at the presidio they were expected to do more in a day than was required of them at the mission.

(2)

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Pagan Indians who came to the mission to become Christian converts were instructed in groups for an amount of time which their mental capacity required. Once baptized they attended Mass daily at which the *doctrina* or principal beliefs and prayers were recited in common by one of the fathers in attendance together with them. This was done in Spanish in the morning and in Chumash in the evening. All baptized children over nine years of age also had to attend. A special instruction was given them in the late afternoon. The *Alabado* and the *Salve Regina* were sung. Special instructions were given them for the annual reception of the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist at Easter time. On Fridays the Stations of the Way of the Cross were recited. Throughout the year the principal feasts were celebrated with great solemnity, the procession of Corpus Christi, the moving and solemn services of Holy Week, and Christmastide was enhanced with its *Posadas* and the Indian rendition of the traditional Mexican *Pastores*.

(3)

JUSTICE AND PUNISHMENT

The missionaries declared in their various writings that when an Indian committed a fault against morality or good order, he was called aside and was given a reproof. If the offense was repeated he was given corporal punishment. The padre gave the orders, the soldiers carried out the punishment. There was no formal jail or lock-up at the mission. The means of punishment were the shackles, the lash and the stocks. Women were seldom punished in those ways except at times with the stock. The latter was the most common form of punishment for both men and women.

Thus if an Indian ran away from the mission, other Indians were sent after him to bring him back. First he was reproached for missing divine services and was warned. If this truancy was repeated he was again brought back and put in the stocks. Sometimes, when he remained recalcitrant he was placed in the shackles for three days and at the same time kept at work. The same punishments were meted out to those caught in concubinage. Thieves



and violent fighters were first chastised and the latter told to keep the peace.

There were stocks in the apartments of the women. Transgressors were punished for one, two, or three days in the stocks, depending on the nature of the offense. If they were obstinate or ran away, they were chastised by the hand of a woman in the women's apartments. Only rarely were women put in shackles. The fathers declared that the Indians were never chastised unless they were told the reason. As a rule they did not resent the punishment when the cause for it was explained to them. "We rear them by means of the sacraments and by means of instruction in the maxims of Christian morals. We therefore use the authority which Almighty God concedes to parents for the education of their children, now exhorting, now rebuking, now also chastising when necessity demands it."

LIFE AT THE MISSION

Thus was the institution called the mission brought up to a semblance of a Christian and civilized community. The mission became self-sustaining in the matter of food, clothes and housing. The Indians, at least the better educated ones, helped their own people. One was elected an *alcalde* each year and he had two advisors in the form of *regidores* or sort of justices of the peace. The *alcalde* saw to proper observance and routine within the Indian pueblo. The padre was assisted in economic affairs by the major-domo and protected by the soldiers of the guard. Some of the Indians became expert interpreters and these were eminently useful for new converts at the mission as well as dealing with pagans in the countryside. Whatever the Indians produced was for their use under the administration of the missionaries. When there were surpluses in such things as wheat, tallow, hides, these were sold and the money received was again put to general mission use. The Indian learned to live a regular and orderly life which was regulated by the sound of the bell. He lived under a benevolent and paternalistic regime, was taught Christianity, and if he did not have the freedom enjoyed in paganism, he received other social and economic gains in the form of social security for he would always be provided for as far as the missionaries were concerned and he was taught useful trades and skills for the time when he would be on his own.

The military authorities had feared to establish missions among the Chumash because of their numbers and lively disposition, unless they had at hand a larger number of soldiers than they usually placed in mission areas. Their worst fears never materialized. Governor Fages himself was most surprised at the way they submitted. When Mission Santa Barbara was just one year old he wrote: "The very extraordinary, and until now not experienced, brief time since which the numerous pagans have embraced the faith of Christ, their cheerful submission to it, to the instructions required, and to the regular routine of work, renders it that the result will be glorious, rapid and interesting." Only once during the history of Mission Santa Barbara did the Indians rebel in 1824 and that was due not to local circumstances but to an incentive placed in their breast by an Indian from Santa Ines where another had been flogged by a corporal. The Santa Barbara Indians were told that those of Santa Inés and Purísima had rebelled and that those of Santa Barbara would be killed by the soldiers. Moreover, they were told that if they did not rise up those of Santa Inés and Purísima would come to make war on them. Then as a result of a few unfortunate incidents subsequent to this, both on the part of Indians and Spaniards, the soldiers of the guard and presidio met in armed conflict during which a few Indians were killed. All then fled over the mountains to the San Joaquin Valley. Several expeditions were sent against them and finally Father Vicente Sarria went over to assure them of governmental pardon and urged them to return to Santa Barbara which they did. Thus the mission was bereft of Indians for the greater part of the period between February and August of 1824.

THE END OF MISSION DAYS

The story of the spoliation of the Franciscan Indian missions of California is too well known to be retold here where we are dealing precisely with the Indians rather than with mission history even though this change of management and proprietors affected Indian life greatly. That the race of the Chumash disappeared entirely is a cause of concern to many who wonder how it could have happened. A significant decline in numbers already happened in the latter mission period due to occasional epidemics and to the contraction of white men's diseases, especially social disease. At all the missions in the course of time the number of deaths



was greater than the number of births. At Santa Barbara, the highest number of Indians living at the mission in a single year in 1803, was 1792. By the end of 1820, there were 1,132. From 1823 until 1836, the numbers dwindled down to 481 from 962. Of course after 1830 there were few Indians left to convert so the mission received no new recruits to keep up its earlier full activity.

On July 15, 1833, Governor Figueroa issued a provisional regulation for the emancipation of the Mission Indians. Most Indians did not avail themselves of this offer. On Aug. 9, 1834, Figueroa, without authority from Mexico, promulgated the decree for mission secularization. On the following Nov. 4, the Indians were removed from the jurisdiction of the missionaries in all but religious matters and were placed under lay commissioners. The mission went down grade under the administration of these lay commissioners so that when William Hartnell was appointed to inspect the missions and report on them, he could offer no other advice than that the missions be returned to the padres with regard to temporalities. Father Durán was again placed over the Indians of Santa Barbara as administrator on July 10, 1839. Finally, on Nov. 29, 1843, the missions were returned entirely to the Franciscans under Governor Micheltorena. But by that time deterioration had set in. The governor was ousted by a group of Californios, and Pio Pico, the senior member of the assembly who had worked against him and who finally defeated him, sought to bring the mission system to its final end. First Mission Santa Barbara, with the exception of the church and some other sacred property, was confiscated in 1845 and its properties rented to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill for nine years. Finally the mission was sold on June 10, 1846, to Richard S. Den. The Indians still remaining on the property were to be respected in their possessions and could cultivate mission lands of their choice. Only abandoned land could be used by Den. The missionary and divine service were to be provided for. With the coming of the Americans mission rights were considered and after the matter was thoroughly studied, Mission Santa Barbara and some two hundred and eighty-three surrounding acres were adjudicated to the church by Abraham Lincoln, March 18, 1865.



Courtesy of Mr. Harry Downie

Two Surviving Chumash Indians at Mission Santa Barbara in 1880's

THE INDIANS DISAPPEAR

5 As stated before, in the last census of Indians at Santa Barbara in 1839, only 246 Indians were left. When the Franciscans started an apostolic college in Santa Barbara in 1854, it was stated that only a few Indians were about the area of the mission. The fathers still continued to provide spiritually for these. No records were kept of what happened to the Indians who vanished, if it was possible indeed, to keep such records when the Indian was free to do as he wished. Men and women of Chumash blood, though few in number, were known to live in and about Santa Barbara even during the early part of the twentieth century. Finally their number was reduced to one who was still a full-blooded member of the tribe. He sang the Requiem of his race. His name was Ignacio Aquino Tomás. Having given of his time and knowl-



edge of the Chumash tongue and lore to the Smithsonian Institute, this Indian continued to live in Santa Barbara until 1952. He died that year on Feb. 8. It was reported that he was to be buried in a pauper's grave. On hearing this news, for Ignacio was unknown to them nor did he live in the vicinity of the mission, the Franciscan Fathers arranged to hold his funeral services and to provide burial for him in those vaults reserved in the mission cemetery for friars and outstanding benefactors. Funeral services were held for Ignacio on Feb. 13, this writer being honored by saying the Requiem for him. The day of Ignacio's funeral coincided with the 159th anniversary of Father Paterna's death, the first regularly appointed missionary at Santa Barbara. During the services the remains of the last Canaliño stood precisely above the vault in which Paterna was buried before the Communion railing of the sanctuary. With Ignacio passed the once populous Indian nation of the Channel and with him ended the long story that goes back to prehistoric days.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Besides the valuable manuscripts and registers in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, to the reader who is further interested in questions treated in this brochure, the author highly recommends the following printed works:

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